

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

Children in a World of Chaos

Sponsored by the Save the Children Federation

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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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EDITORIAL

Basic to any discussion of the postwar world is a consideration of children. It is in meeting their problems that the program of the democracies is meeting, and will continue to meet, its severest test. These helpless, warworn youngsters—old before their time—are being subjected to situations that threaten, literally, to cause us to lose the peace ere we win a decision with arms. To starvation and neglect in the wartorn countries is being added thwarting and frustration of personality development in our own country because of prejudice as in the case of Negro and Mexican children, and because of neglect and unconcern about economic and educational well-being, as in the case of our mountain children. In addition, the appalling rise in delinquency is driving home to us the fact that delinquents are war casualties, the same as are the wounded from the battlefields. Some of them are going to be much harder to rehabilitate than the physically wounded.

The problems we face appear to divide themselves into two categories. The first is that of children in the wartorn areas of the world whose need will be largely immediate and of a relief nature. These countries possess the leadership and insight to care for their own youth provided they are given material aid. France, Belgium, and the Netherlands are examples here. The problems of the second group are different. They are chronic and involve long-range plans.

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Some of them are domestic and others are not. Our own mountain areas, our Negro children, and our Mexican children, together with children from comparable situations all over the world, constitute this larger challenge to us.

In order to present these problems of children to its readers THE JOURNAL asked the Save the Children Federation to sponsor this issue. Mr. Henry Israel, who serves as issue editor, has a rich background of experience in this field. He served in Germany as executive director of the European Student Relief of the World's Student Christian Federation from 1920 to 1922. His agency is also rooted in the relief and rehabilitation of that era. It is a division of the Save the Children International Union with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland.

The editors believe they will have made a significant contribution to child welfare if this presentation stimulates thinking on these problems.

DAN W. DODSON

SAVE THE CHILDREN FOR WHAT?

Pearl S. Buck

I suppose there has never been an age when children have suffered more heavily than they have in this one. It is ironical that in an age when we have prided ourselves on our progress in the intelligent care and teaching of children we have at the same time put them at the mercy of new and most terrible weapons of destruction. Men and women have a voice in the management of the world's affairs whether they use their voices or not, but little children have no voice. They can only share in complete bewilderment, the horrors of this age—heroes and martyrs in their childish ways, but always helpless and bewildered.

When I contemplate the mass misery of children in the world today I confess it far overtops in my own mind anything that soldiers suffer or even civilians. Civilians have, of course, suffered a great deal more than soldiers in this war, and this is true in every country. The civilians of China have suffered on a scale infinitely worse than soldiers have—the millions dead are unknown. It is roughly estimated that fifty million people have been driven out of their homes. Untold millions have died from disease and deprivation and starvation, and among them are millions of children. Children have suffered in Europe even though on a lesser scale, in England they have suffered not only from death but from loss of home and security, and in our own country I sometimes think it is only our children who have really suffered any shock from the war. That they do suffer can easily be seen from the news of their delinquencies and disturbances.

But it must be taken into consideration that even when there was no war there were great areas of the earth where the brunt of deprivation fell and continues to fall upon children. I think no one can travel in India even superficially without realizing that the degrading poverty which is almost universal in India falls most heavily upon India's children. More than one generation of India now has

grown up through a half-starved, anxious, insecure childhood, and that explains more in India today than is commonly known or than many people care to believe.

Lest we be too complacent, let us remember our own children. I was talking with Sigrid Undset only a few weeks ago and she told me she had just returned from a trip to Florida. Then she said, "I was shocked by the children I saw in the South. For misery and filth and lack of care they were worse than anything I have ever seen in Europe." I have seen some of those children, the children of sharecroppers and tenant farmers, both colored and white, and I will say I never saw anything more tragic even among the poor of China. In China it is not neglect when the children are miserable; it is famine or catastrophe. Here in our rich country it is neglect, if not the parents' neglect, then our neglect. We do not have famines and there is no catastrophe that we cannot control. But the condition of children in the poor South—or for that matter in sections of such places as Harlem—is due not to a catastrophe or to famine but to our indifference to their welfare.

And yet I confess that in these last months I have come to feel, rightly or wrongly, that there is something worse for all these little children than death. Worse than death will be to grow up in a world such as we now have, where war can fall at any moment upon innocent and ignorant peoples, and war that is more cruel with every succeeding outbreak. I see no particular use in saving children alive for recurrent war to catch them later. I see no use in the enormous waste of women's lives in going on even to produce children when they are to be at the mercy of inhumanity and greed for power and race hatreds. There is no reality in saving the children merely by giving them food and shelter. Somehow the saving has to go further than this. While we feed them and shelter them we have to do more for them; we have to develop them somehow into men and women who will not be at the mercy of such misery again. We have to save

not only their bodies, but their minds and their hearts, or else the bodies are better lost.

I confess I have come to the point of feeling that any relief, if not accompanied by more than physical relief, is not worth giving in these days. If a dollar given for food cannot carry more than a dollar's worth of food, I will put my dollar somewhere else. Something has to be done now not only to save the bodies of people from physical death but the minds from growing into the minds of those who will carry on the sort of world we have now—and those who silently endure are just as much those who carry on this sort of world as those who actively force it upon us. Rebecca West in that great book, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, in which she analyzed with such genius the causes for the hotbed of quarrels in the Balkans which have led to so many wars, makes it very clear that it is not only the Grey Falcons, the active aggressors, who are responsible for the barbarous times into which we have fallen, but the black lambs are just as responsible, the silent sufferers, the ones who endure meekly and by their very meekness invoke and encourage the aggressors.

Let us consider the world of children at this moment, the world we must save. In our country there are children growing up in circumstances that cannot produce a peaceful world. Think of the moment that faces every colored mother and father, the moment when their child has to know that he is doomed to eternal handicaps because of his color! There is not a single colored parent, unless he is imbecile, who does not dread that moment, who is not saddened by it and degraded by it. I know, for I have heard them talking about it, dreading it before it came, saddened after it had come. Imagine it for yourselves—how could you explain it to the child? How could you excuse yourself that you ever gave him birth? There are still other groups here—Jews, Poles, Hungarians, and others differing in various sections of our country where prejudice against so-called "foreigner" varies—but these can often escape at least by moving

away from the region of prejudice. But there is no escape for the colored child. He is born black if he has a drop of colored blood in him. Can these children be saved?

In India millions of little children are born subject. I do not think they suffer as acutely from it as our own colored children suffer here, for the Indian children live in a country where the white man, though his power is absolute, does not come into daily touch with the children. And yet any one who has lived at all in India knows how the shadow of subjection is over every one, and the children all know and live in that shadow. Can these children be saved?

You know as well as I do the children of Europe. They will never escape wholly from the influence of what they have endured in these last years. We have to reckon with a crippled generation; of course I do not mean only physical cripples. These children can never be wholly saved, yet I tell you quite frankly that I do not feel as sorry for them as I do for our own colored children, who are born under the shadow generation after generation, and cannot hope for escape even for their children. And yet somehow the children of Europe must be saved so far as they can be saved and not only for their own sakes, but because there have to be created in Europe peoples with whom the rest of us can live and work in some sort of cooperation.

What I am trying to say is that I feel that no relief is better than a partial relief which keeps only a child's body alive. It is better for the world if children die than if they are merely kept alive. You will say that children do recover if they are sheltered, fed, and made to feel secure again. And I say what is the use of their recovering at all if it is only to continue in a world where nothing real is yet being done to *save children?*

I should like to urge upon you, then, a vast enlargement of your work. I should like to see you consider that giving a child physical care is the merest beginning. I should like to see you take an active part in all groups of people who are working for the removal of race

discrimination, because children cannot be saved from the evil effects of race discrimination. War is only part of those effects—the peacetime ills are almost as severe and certainly more prolonged. And let me warn you that the next war will come out of race discrimination unless something is done soon to prevent it.

I should like to see you take part in all groups working for the elimination of war and the discovery and control of the warlike men who ride to power in times of social and economic disturbance. Race prejudice and war are the two greatest causes of suffering to children. I believe, if there were any way of measuring this qualitatively and quantitatively, we should find this is so.

I should like to see you taking an active part in all groups working for economic security for all people, for next to race prejudice in the world and next to war, poverty brings the greatest suffering upon the world's children.

And in these days everything has to be thought of in terms of the world. It is meaningless to feed France's children if we do not feed our own sharecroppers' children. It is useless to feed Europe's children or our own unless we feed the children of Asia. There will be no peace if part of the world's children grow up disabled by handicaps.

My friends, you see our work has only begun!

Pearl S. Buck is an internationally known writer and lecturer.

TODAY'S BEST INVESTMENT

Dorothy Moulton Mayer

The peoples of the world are facing another winter of war. The faint hopes that this autumn might see a real end in Europe are fading and we know that Mr. Churchill's prediction is, as heretofore, accurate and that 1943 will wear to its close without a decision. For America it will be the third winter, hard to face because the in-born optimism of this people made them believe fervently in what their hearts hoped might be true, bitter because more and more of their sons, brothers, and husbands must leave them, because the whole course of life is disturbed and jarred, the continuity of home life is threatened, and because the future is hard to read.

But for Europe this winter will be the fifth, and who can estimate the despair and foreboding with which whole peoples face it. Long ago they passed through the uncertainties which Americans face; for them only the worst is now sure. The home has almost ceased to exist in the occupied countries. Long ago the men went away, and those who are left know that no lock or key can save them from slavery if their masters decree it. Long ago mothers forgot the days when they could give their children the good nourishing food they need; they are used now to the cries of hunger and sickness, to the pinched faces, and the empty cupboard. For them the fading hope of an Allied victory this year must be an agony hardly to be borne. To wake each day thinking—will this be the day—will they come—will it begin today—and then in the evening to say sadly—no not today—what must that mean to the mothers of Europe!

This is a destructive war. All wars are that, of course, but this war is destructive in several novel ways, and the destruction brings to each of us moments of poignant and unexpected sadness. At first when the bombs began to fall in Britain and we knew that historic places and monuments had been destroyed and damaged, we were loud in our horror. Westminster Abbey, Canterbury, the Guild Hall,

Coventry—how the loss of each of them struck at our hearts. Then the tide turned and we were forced to become the destroyers, but some of us still suffered, for beauty and tradition have their own value everywhere.

So our troubled minds seek some consolation, some assurance that even in such wreckage something may be saved, and we say to ourselves, these monuments to the past are after all only the material and visible creations of the spirit of man, that spirit which in its slow and painful ascent throughout the ages has left these landmarks on its way. They may be destroyed, but what man has built he can build again. The Greek temple, the Gothic cathedral, the pre-Raphaelite fresco can be replaced, given the will and the vitality, the urge and impetus which come to a people when a new age is being born. That new world of which we now think and talk and toward which we are groping will evolve its own expression in the realm of art and culture.

But this war has unfortunately for these hopeful suppositions a destructive side which is peculiarly its own; not only does it take the youth of the nations, but it reaches far into the future and kills or maims the children on whom that future rests. The last war cut a wide swathe in Europe's young manhood, a whole generation, and in some countries two generations of youth either died in battle or survived to bear through life the marks of their ordeal. This war will take many more lives. Already we know that the losses in Germany and Russia alone amount to ten millions, and our own losses have hardly begun. But what of that as yet unmeasured loss, which will affect the life of Europe for the next twenty or thirty years at least, the loss of the children? We talk of rehabilitation, but all plans for rehabilitation rest, after the initial stages, upon the willingness and capacity of the people themselves to reconstruct their lives, and in allowing Europe's children either to die or to survive only as sickly and prostrated human beings we are frustrating our own desire to get the peoples of the occupied countries on their feet again; and

unless we want to support these peoples more or less in perpetuity it is high time we do something about it.

By a rigid enforcement of the blockade we have for four years starved the children of our friends and by a frightful irony the only children who will be even halfway capable of helping to build that new world we all look forward to so eagerly will be the children of our enemies. The idea underlying this policy was very clearly and succinctly stated by Lord Winterton in a Parliamentary debate on economic warfare on July 8 last. "My honorable friend behind me," he remarked of Reginald Sorenson, M.P., "said that in these matters, in the starvation of Europe's children, we have to have regard to humanity and not to the mere question of strategy. If that is so he should not be a supporter of the war because in war you have to have regard to strategy most of all. Otherwise you do not win."

That is a very clear but a very short view; it is the kind of view which ties in with the phrases "peace in our time" and "reason and wise self-interest," and many of us who have lived through the last thirty years are beginning to ask ourselves whether even the more obvious and material results of these policies are so advantageous. Certain it is that such a view does not take account of our long-term plans for Europe's future; a glance at present conditions in the occupied countries which are accessible to us by sea convinces us of that. In some areas in France it is estimated that 70 per cent of the children are tubercular or pretubercular; the birthrate is dropping and infant mortality rates are rising; the figures for rickets are not available but it is safe to assume that they are high. In the schools the teachers say the children are listless and apathetic; they do not remember from one day to another what they learn and they do not want to play. Any one who has observed the effect of daily milk or a midday meal on our own school children can well believe these reports on the half-starved children of France. In addition to this, bands of homeless children roam the country, children who were

lost during successive evacuations, nameless orphans, violent desperate waifs, living as best they can.

In Belgium the picture is even worse, for Belgium has been completely occupied since 1940. There are in Belgium 725 inhabitants to the square mile, a figure reached almost nowhere else in the world, Belgian agriculture therefore was never capable of satisfying the whole population and in normal times food, fertilizers, and fodder were very largely imported. When such imports were stopped, the people were bound to suffer even if the Germans had left them the whole of their home production. In the pamphlet, *Save the Children of Belgium* by Emile Cammaerts, it is stated that a third of the 2,300,000 children under eighteen in Belgium are tubercular and 80 per cent of the children in urban districts are threatened with the disease. The same may be said about Greece, with the addition that Greece was mainly a poor nonindustrial country where the people had a marginal subsistence level even at the best of times, and where food was largely imported, particularly wheat.

It is difficult for people in this country to picture to themselves the poverty in which these people lived, but our soldiers in Sicily are getting some idea of it. In some respects the reports from Greece are the most heart-rending of all, especially when we remember that these are the children of a brave people who resisted the invader with all the strength at their disposal, thus winning for the Allies time to recover from the blow dealt by Italy's stab in the back. Athens has reported that about 500,000 Greek children are in need of relief; they suffer from gastric ailments, scurvy, pellagra, and lack of clothing. The statistics given for the town of Laurium, in peace times a fairly thriving mining community, are enlightening; in 1939 the child population up to the age of four was 219 and there were only 11 deaths in that age group compared to 88 births. In 1941 there were 114 babies born, and 34 deaths; but by 1942 there were 51 deaths and only 31 babies born.

In spite of the fact that Greece has been receiving limited amounts of food in relief, conditions are still frightful. Thousands of people are too weak to get to the canteens; children who wake in the morning to find their mother beside them dead cannot move or call for help. Hunger clouds the people's minds; they have no clothes or warmth. Those who can get out haunt the garbage dumps; they are devoured by vermin and disease. Abandoned dead babies lie on the roads and gangs of children infest the gutters fighting for scraps with the dogs. Look at your own baby, mother who reads this, and imagine that you have nothing to give him when he cries, *nothing*, no rag to cover him with, and *no hope* of anything but death. No wonder that the spokesman for the Greek war relief association said recently "unless increased aid comes, this winter will see the end of the Greek people." What 600 years of occupation and tyranny failed to do the blockade will accomplish. And yet the experience of relief workers after the last war shows us that even now, if we act quickly, much can be done; it is extraordinary how soon children react if only they are taken in hand young enough. We can yet save Europe's babies if we will.

What are the objections to our doing so? They have been dealt with repeatedly and conclusively by such authorities as the American Red Cross, the spokesmen for the Belgian and Greek relief societies, and the Director of Relief in Europe for the Friends Service Committee speaking for relief in France.

The first objection is that the Germans would take the food. Both the American Red Cross and the American Friends Service Committee have assured the public over and over again that the Germans have never taken any of the food administered by them. The 19,000 tons of food going to Greece each month have not been touched by the Germans and they do not take the food sent to Allied prisoners of war in Germany. Even the Ministry of Economic Warfare in London admitted this.

Second, it is said the Germans would not take the food but would

take more food out of the country to which it is sent. The Friends' reply to this is that they required each French child completely to exhaust its ration card before receiving the supplementary food and the Nazis did not take any more food as a result of the feeding. This system could be followed in other countries.

Third, would not the Germans reduce the ration cards of the children receiving supplementary aid? The answer is they did not do this.

Fourth, why should the American taxpayer be burdened with this expense? The American taxpayer is not asked for money, for Norway, Holland, Belgium, and France have funds of their own with which they could pay for the relief if they were permitted to use them. It need cost the American people *nothing*.

Fifth, how can the food be sent with the present shortage of shipping? Neutral countries are willing to lend their ships, or, for instance, the Belgian Government has ceded to the International Red Cross a ship which would sail under the Red Cross flag. This ship is the *Caritas*, reserved for the transport of food to prisoners of war or to the occupied countries. She lies at Philadelphia ready to make her first journey when the navicerts are granted.

Sixth, food is already short in the United States. How can we spare food for Europe? It is true that there is a shortage of certain foods but not of grain, nor of the powdered milk and vitamins which are all the Belgian Government asks for. If we have enough to feed the Italians who, until quite recently, were fighting against us, can we not spare some for those peoples who like the Greeks fought for us, or like the French, the Dutch, and Belgians who are ready to help us whenever we give the word?

Seventh, it is said that Americans could not work in occupied countries and we could not be sure of careful supervision. It is not certain that Quakers would not be allowed to work in these countries, just as they worked on both sides and fed 350,000 children during the Spanish Civil War, but, in any case, the International

Red Cross with a neutral personnel, which does it in Greece, is ready to take the responsibility for feeding and distributing food and clothing. This organization is, of course, above suspicion.

Finally, the reader may object that the American Government can do little in the matter. It is not they who prosecute the European blockade. They do not issue the navicerts and they hesitate to urge any course upon the British Government which the latter does not approve. But it appears that officials in Washington are becoming more and more disposed toward making a move in this direction. In England, too, there is and has been for some time a body of public opinion pressing for a change of policy, the evidence of which can be seen from the frequent questions in Parliament. This public opinion would be strengthened by a demonstration of American opinion.

So it seems that the objections to feeding the starving children of Europe, at least in those countries where we can reach them, vanish when the light of impartial inquiry is turned upon them. What, then, stands in the way?

If we could take the mass words to which we have become accustomed, "the refugees," "the wounded," "the evacuees," and see behind them the individual human beings, if we could let our imagination work and feel in our own bodies the hunger and cold and fear, then we might not listen so readily to the gospel of expediency which is preached to us day in and day out. And then we might ask those who have preached this gospel for four years if they can show us any tangible advantage resulting from the course they have pursued. Has it shortened the war? Will the half-starved inhabitants of the occupied countries be physically more or less ready to help us? Has Germany suffered from our refusal to send the children food; are her children going short because of it? These are questions to which as yet no answer has been given.

If we could see these children of whom I write, if we could hear their weak voices pleading for just a little to eat, we would, of

course, immediately rush off and give them everything we have; but my appeal is not to a merely emotional reaction but to something far more reasonable and fundamental. Europe will perish with its children, for on them and on them alone rests its real rehabilitation. By British, Belgian, Swedish, and Swiss authorities it is now believed that "unless some help is given promptly, the next generation will not recover from the disintegration to which it is subjected." Dr. Alfred Hess in his study of rickets said that the percentage of that disease in Germany during the last war did not seem to increase, but later rickets increased as the result of the war. For instance, in 1923 in the city of Dortmund 20 per cent of children between the ages of three to five could not walk. The headmasters of schools in England found that, when in the late twenties the directly postwar generation began to pass through their hands, they were confronted with the difficulties of a high proportion of nervous and emotionally disturbed youngsters, this in a country that suffered comparatively little from undernourishment or bombardment. What will be the aftermath of this war? A nation can only be born from within itself, and a people is only as strong as its children are. No amount of American planning or American aid will reconstruct Europe unless the vital spark is there; the test will come not in the first few years after the war but in fifteen years when a generation has reached manhood. It rests with us to say whether this generation shall have the distorted mind and the stunted and warped body which make it fair game for the false prophet and the fanatic leader, or whether it shall have the open mind and the healthy outlook which go with true democracy. Then the devastation of Europe will only offer a space in which the creative spirit can function freely. From the ruins fairer cities can rise; art and science can make them better homes for the children of the future. A generation which has been saved even in the midst of destruction by our generous denial of mere expediency will not forget, and will be all the more ready to collaborate with us in a peaceful world. The

mothers and children of the occupied countries are waiting with hope and agony for our answer to their cry for help. Can we, who have so much, who are still safe and warm and fed, refuse them? This winter may make all the difference to the future of Europe for years to come. Let us make no mistake; the future of our own children is bound up with it. For that reason, if for no other, we must act at once. Senators and Congressmen learn very quickly what the wishes of their constituents are when the letters begin to come in, and no people on earth can indicate their desires more clearly or rapidly than the people of this country. And the reward will not fail to come, in the words of Him who said "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Lady Mayer is a well-known figure in musical life. Her home in London was a meeting place for music lovers. She was a concert singer at home and on the Continent, and took part in the formation of the International Contemporary Music Movement, appearing at its inauguration at Salzburg. Since the war she and her husband have worked with the Save the Children Federation of America and in aid of the British Save the Children Fund.

CHILD CARE IN CHINA

Lennig Sweet

Throughout the years Chinese children have been treated as adults who need training and discipline. Recreation has been considered entirely a waste of time with study or work as the only things worth while. In support of this viewpoint, a modern educator has pointed out that there is no juvenile costume in China—boys and girls, except for the very modern ones that one sees in the port cities, are dressed exactly like their parents. The whole emphasis of Chinese philosophy and manners is on the duty of children to parents; not the duty of parents to children. Filial piety is one of the shibboleths, and the honorific term for father is "The Family Severity" who is primarily a judge and disciplinarian. Discipline seems to develop in Chinese children an inner control and stability relatively unknown in the West. Family love and security in China come through the mother, whose honorific title corresponding to "Family Severity" for the father is "Family Kindness." Thus Chinese Christians often say it would be more appropriate to speak of the "motherhood of God" than of the "fatherhood of God."

Chinese parents love their children devotedly and they are just as interested in success for their offspring as are parents anywhere else in the world. One of China's most famous stories is that of the mother of Mencius who was left a widow while her only son was still a young boy. She was exceedingly poor and lived in a little hut near a cemetery. The child was so influenced by the mourners who continually came to weep at the graves that he, too, became sad and downcast; so his mother moved away. This time they lived next to a pig butcher. The little boy admired the butcher's skill—his ambition was to be a butcher when he grew up, so his mother moved again. This time she chose a cottage next to a school. Young Mencius looking through the window was much interested in the children reciting classics; he entered the school and became a philosopher second only to Confucius.

Children of the upper economic classes study and study hard. In prerepublic days they worked under tutors. During the nineteen twenties and thirties they went to modern schools and as soon as classes were dismissed hundreds of them either had private teachers of English or went to the Y.M.C.A. and missionary afternoon and evening schools which were so popular. Of course, the war with Japan changed all that. Girls have been trained to stay home and learn to keep house for future mothers-in-law and husbands.

Life in China for the majority of people has always been hard. Parents have not had money to send their children to school and the family has needed the income of all its members, so boys and girls of the rural class work on the farms as soon as they are big enough to pick up a tool.

In cases where the family is in great extremity, it is sometimes necessary for them to sell the daughters as slave girls who finally find their way to the port cities (although it is against present Chinese law) or to bind the boys over as apprentices to learn a trade. This latter was not always only because of economic pressure; if one knows a trade one can make a living.

The entire industrial organization of China was, and still is with a few exceptions, built around the apprentice system. Young boys are bound out for two to five years—the master provides food and clothing. Often the life of the apprentice is very hard; he works from dawn to dark and many times even later by the light of an oil lamp. He receives poor food and no wages. Very often he is not even allowed to leave the shop except during the three principal holidays, when he goes back to visit his parents unless the distance is too great. The masters usually came up through the system and consider what was good enough for them is good enough for the next generation. On the other hand, there is often a personal relation and a pride of workmanship which is lacking under the mass-production system of the West. Usually the apprentices become journeymen workers and in turn hope to own their own shop. In

certain industries, such as the rug factories in Tientsin and Peiping, the managers never expect to have very many journeymen but continually to feed in new groups of apprentices. The boys are often badly treated and very many times return home almost blinded by trachoma or otherwise broken physically, while a new crop of country lads take their place to go through the mill.

Of recent years, interest in child welfare has greatly increased. This is due to many causes which need not be enumerated here. The boy and girl scout movement, clubs at the Y.M.C.A., the camping movement, athletics, institutions for children, etc., were commencing to have a real and important place in China at the time Japan struck. Recreation and self-expression had begun to take their place beside training. This was beginning to have its effect on the social structure. Nothing can illustrate the fast changing position of women and girls better than to point out that when the writer went to China in 1916 one of the heroines was a certain girl who lived some hundreds of years ago. The story has it that she was sitting by the bank of a stream when she was asked the way by a soldier who had become lost. Taking pity on him she pointed out the road, and then jumped into the river and committed suicide because she was ashamed to have so forgotten herself as to speak to a stranger. For this act she was held up to all as an example of maiden modesty and decorum. When I left China in 1934 the heroine, a "pin-up" girl to be seen on the walls of many a college dormitory, was a lovely creature in a one-piece bathing suit, known as "The Beautiful Fish." She had won the high dive at the Far Eastern Olympics, defeating both the Japanese and Filipino contestants!

By 1930 the boy scout movement was compulsory for each primary school. There were scores of orphanages and children's homes. The most famous of these was that established in "The Fragrant Mountain" west of Peiping, once the hunting park of the Manchu emperors. This orphanage was founded by former Premier Hsiung Hsi-ling who lived on the premises and gave direct oversight to the

work. Many of these orphanages, including that of Mr. Hsiung, were greatly influenced by the progressive ideas of John Dewey. It is probably fair to say that a much larger proportion of them were operating on the Project Method than was the case of similar institutions in the United States.

The municipalities, particularly the foreign group in Shanghai, also had begun to take an interest in children. Under the direction of Miss Eleanor Hinder, the Industrial and Social Division of the Municipal Council of the Shanghai International Settlement undertook to control child labor in factories, care for delinquents, and introduce other child-welfare measures. The National Child Welfare Association under the auspices of Dr. R. Y. Lo carried on considerable activity and had a large measure of Chinese support.

The position of children in the rural areas was not much changed except, perhaps, that more schools were introduced.

With the war, the problem of children became acute. As the great cities were bombed and as millions fled westward, parents were killed or became separated from their children until it has been estimated that there are over 2,000,000 "warphans" in China. These are not all children bereft of parents—many have been lost or abandoned, or are children of refugees who cannot support them. Mme. Chiang Kai-shek and other public-spirited people stepped into the breach and organized the National Child Refugee Association. With help from the Chinese Government which provides approximately 25 per cent of the support of this work and with aid from abroad, she now has some 25,000 orphans in 45 orphanages. Mme. Chiang has stated, however, that she has had 300,000 applicants. With costs rising, due to inflation, it is very difficult to continue even to maintain the work already established. In 1937 it cost \$20 per year to support one of Mme. Chiang's "warphans"; today it costs \$250. To administer institutions, when most of them have to be built from the ground up and there has been but a handful of trained leadership, has been no mean task. There are approximately

another 25,000 children in orphanages of the China Child Welfare Association, of the Catholic and Protestant Missions, and of independent groups entirely under Chinese auspices. There are also numerous orphanages and nurseries in the "guerrilla" territory in Northwest China. The China Yearbook for 1940-1941 states that "for the period under review" (which period is not stated) 159,835 children were cared for in institutions and that of this number 102,214 were in various governmental and public organizations, and 57,621 in those classified as "others."

One of the greatest problems which is at present facing those concerned with child care in China, and with which they will increasingly be confronted, is what to do with the orphanage children when they are old enough to "graduate." There is some attempt to teach them trades but resources have been so strained merely to provide food and shelter that comparatively little has been done. Free China is little advanced industrially; there is a danger that children too old to remain in orphanages will be apprenticed to small industries operating under the same primitive conditions as described above in the case of the prewar North China rug factories. At present those concerned realize the problem but have not yet found a way out. The Chinese Industrial Cooperatives are doing a good job in taking illiterate farm boys or refugee children and educating them in trade schools—but this is only a drop in the bucket as far as solving the fundamental problem is concerned.

With the expulsion of Japan from China, the problem of China's children may be greatly aggravated, because there is every expectation that Japan will not leave the country without committing great devastation. This may not be widespread in rural areas, but key centers and many of the great cities may be left a shambles presenting even greater problems than did Naples. Plans should be established for taking care of at least two or three hundred thousand orphans for a limited period.

Preparations should be made for the greatly augmented number

of children who must be cared for. It is also important that this work be handled correctly. In the confusion and devastation which the Japanese are bound to create, thousands of children will become lost and separated from their parents. It is particularly important that all such children, together with those whose parents have been killed, be placed in separate camps and that skilled workers immediately interview them in an attempt to obtain pertinent facts concerning their families and relatives. City workers in China almost invariably have family roots in the country and it should be possible to place thousands of children with their relatives provided information is obtained before too long a time elapses. In Shanghai experience showed that even among a "hard core" of refugees who had been in camps for two years numbers of children could be returned to their families on the basis of information gathered by skillful questioning. The percentage will, of course, be immensely greater if this work is done immediately after separation occurs. Preparations must also be made to give the children proper diet and recreation must be so organized that the terrible experiences which they have undergone may be forgotten to the largest possible extent and the resulting nervous strain lessened.

Orphanages and institutions should only be employed as a last resort. The present practice of sending to institutions children whose parents cannot support them would seem to be unwise. The presumption is that in most cases money would be saved and a better job done by giving a subsidy for care in one's own home. This has been found to be the preferred practice in the United States to such an extent that the social security laws will only give grants on behalf of children if they are living in the home of a parent or a close relative.

All this will present a problem too great for private agencies; it is also a question as to whether the Chinese Government, with problems which it may feel to be more important, can provide the facilities to handle it. This is a major problem to be considered by the

United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. There is undoubtedly in China today the machinery that could be used by United Nations for expanding the service to children. This could not be done, however, without recruiting and training hundreds of persons to administer and serve in the child-care agencies which must be brought into being. If the problem is to be met when the time comes, this training program should be got under way immediately.

Lennig Sweet at the present time is Program Director of United China Relief. He was in China from 1916 to 1935 as Boys' Work Secretary and General Secretary of the Peking Y.M.C.A., and as Director of Training for the Chinese Y.M.C.A. movement. From 1936 to 1941 he was Chief of the Division of In-Service (Training) of the Social Security Board in Washington.

PROBLEMS OF MEXICAN CHILDREN IN THE SOUTHWEST

Daniel Russell

Mexicans are usually looked upon as a foreign element in our national population. However, many of the Mexicans of the Southwest look upon the other white people who have come in as foreign intruders. In a way, these Mexicans are right because the Mexicans were here long before the settlers from the eastern United States came. Many of them can trace their Texas ancestry back much further than any of the other white settlers can. Along the Rio Grande before the turn of this century many of the Mexicans on this side of the border looked upon themselves as citizens of Mexico. The great development that has come with this country, especially in the magic Rio Grande Valley, has left these Spanish-speaking citizens more or less bewildered. Many of them feel that their land and their country have been usurped from them.

It is unfair to speak of the Mexicans as one class as we are prone to do because there are various stratifications of classes even among the Mexicans. The upper Spanish-speaking class of the Southwest maintains, for the most part, as high a standard of living as any of our other citizens, living in attractive homes, educating their children, traveling abroad, etc. However, the great bulk of the Spanish-speaking element of the Southwest is of the lowest peon class of Mexicans. These Mexicans are not a pure strain, there being a mixture of Spanish, Indian, and other racial elements. The majority of the racial strain perhaps are Indians. These Mexicans live, for the most part, in the lowest standard of living, their settlements being across the railroad track, their homes being one- and two-room shacks, some built of lumber, some of adobe, some of tule, some of scrap and old tin cans picked up from junk yards. The majority of the homes have dirt floors and many of them have outdoor kitchens.

Sanitation is poor or lacking altogether. Less than ten per cent of the houses have any modern conveniences. Naturally, the infant mortality rate is high among the children; diseases are rampant among children and adults, especially tuberculosis which is higher than in any group, even the Negro group.

The average Mexican family is larger than the average American family. An investigation of 200 families of Mexican school children of La Feria, Texas, showed the average size to be approximately 6.1 persons.

Many orphans and needy children are taken into Mexican homes. A man who is unable to rear his children will often let some more successful relative take care of them. But not all of the foundlings taken into homes are children belonging to relatives. They may have belonged to some friend or even a stranger. These children are usually treated as if they were sons and daughters. Very often a man who has a large family will give some relative who has no children one of his children for rearing.

Despite the poverty of the Mexican hovels it is surprising to learn that in the old Mexican settlements about one half of the Mexicans own their homes or hovels, there being a keen sense of possession of land and property in this underprivileged group. Many of the Mexicans are nomadic, constituting about 85 per cent of transient agricultural labor of the Southwest, roaming over the State gathering citrus, harvesting spinach, onions, cotton, etc. Naturally, there is little home life for these people and little opportunity of education for their children. Although these people roam around, most all of them have some particular locality and house they call their home.

Statistics from the towns with large Mexican population show a very high delinquency rate among the Mexican youth. When one studies statistics and the home environment of the Mexican youth, however, one cannot help but wonder why the delinquency rate is

not higher. Mexican youth are coming in for their increase in delinquency during the war period but from the meager figures available perhaps not to the extent of the other white youth.

The Mexican voter has too often been a mere tool of American and Mexican politicians. There are many cases where practically the entire Mexican vote of a county is voted the same way. A few years ago all the voters of a border county voted for a certain candidate for governor in the first primary, and for another candidate in the second primary. The reason for the change was the political boss of the county changed his mind between the primaries, and the voters of the county, which is composed mainly of Mexicans, voted as the boss desired.

One of the leading Valley counties was controlled for a number of years by a political boss. Practically the entire Mexican voters of the county voted as this man directed. The party in opposition to this political leader did not come into power until they finally managed to swing a large percentage of the Mexican vote in their favor.

If the education of the Mexican children is considered, many problems of major proportion are encountered. First, there is a language difficulty with many of them; second, in many places there is antagonism of white children toward the Mexican children; third, there is lack of interest on the part of a certain number of Mexicans; fourth, there is lethargy on the part of most local communities toward the Mexican children; and, fifth, there is a difficulty of educating the nomadic Mexican children. Many local communities where these children live for a time to pick cotton want these children on their scholastic rolls so they can get the State educational apportionment for the children but, needless to say, little or no education is provided for them. Actually, many communities with a large Mexican population have found it wise pedagogy to provide separate schools through the third to fifth grade for the Spanish-speaking children. This forces a burden upon the community which is al-

ready supporting a dual educational system for Negro and white children.

When provisions for Mexican children are compared with those for American children a great variety of conditions is found. In many cases there is obvious discrimination against Mexican children, often extreme discrimination. In some communities, however, there is an approach to equality between the two. The worst educational conditions are found in the rural schools, especially in areas where there is not a large Mexican population. The children who live in the country, regardless of race in the Southwest, are handicapped educationally speaking. The Mexicans are even more handicapped. It is known that in some small communities Mexican children have been chased away from school. In some other communities Mexican parents have been told if they sent their children to school they would lose their jobs or lease for their farm. Naturally, children of such parents would not attend school. Sometimes these Mexican children attend class in old, dilapidated, abandoned church or other vacant buildings. Sometimes the Mexican schools act as a training or proving ground for teachers in white schools. Generally, the teachers are inferior and have inferior education, although some communities make an attempt to give as good instruction to Mexican children as to the others. Mexican children when given proper encouragement in school and home often make outstanding scholastic records. Valedictorians of senior high schools along the Mexican border are often boys or girls of Mexican extraction. However, scholastic achievement of Mexican children as a class does not compare favorably with achievement of white children. For this, of course, there are obvious reasons. Mexican children in school are said to have the following traits stronger than the other white children:

1. Imitativeness
2. Conservatism

3. Respect of authority
4. Appreciation of friendship
5. Love of music
6. Strength of home ties
7. Skill with finger work
8. Adherence to custom
9. Sensitiveness to praise or blame
10. Ignorance and superstition
11. Respect for the church
12. Apathy
13. A disparity between words and deeds
14. Honesty and dignity

Mexican children are fond of celebrations and revel in the Mexican holiday fiestas. Some of them make good records on athletic teams of local high schools but most of them do not develop an interest in a physical-education program such as they should. Occasionally, parents will object to their children playing because they say they send them to school to study and not to play.

Following is listed a group of favorable traits for the education of Mexican children by a group of teachers of these children in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas:

1. Specially trained teachers for teaching Mexican children
2. Keen interest in learning
3. Desire for display of talents and abilities in the school
4. Gradual growth of community interests. The Americans of the community are beginning to take more interest in the education of Mexican children
5. Schoolwork less depressing than working at manual labor
6. Teacher worship
7. Fewer diversions for Mexican children than for other whites
8. A desire to rival other whites
9. Desire for play and association with a large group of children
10. Intelligence—especially among pupils in grades above the primary
11. Average pupils in respective grades

Likewise, these teachers listed the following unfavorable traits for the education of Mexican children:

1. Lack of knowledge of the English language
2. Irregular attendance—failure to enforce the compulsory attendance law
3. Lack of cultural background—uneducated parents, lack of encouragement, poor reading materials, poor living conditions
4. Financial conditions—necessity of work to contribute to support of family
5. Lack of understanding between home and school
6. Lack of incentive to go ahead with their education
7. Teachers who do not always understand the pupils
8. Unsuitability of our measuring instruments—pupils are often not understood
9. Sometimes a lack of interest on the part of the English-speaking members of the community
10. Frequent moving—often to follow the harvesting of crops
11. Poorly trained teachers

Some of the greatest of the Southwest's cultural attractions are due to Mexicans, who for generations have lived according to their own customs, told their folklore around humble doorways, strummed guitars, and danced in the moonlight. They have left such an impression on the life of the Southwest that many students and scholars are making a study of their customs and folklore.

One of the most characteristic features of Mexican life in the Southwest is the folk dance. Many of these dances are characteristic of old Spain, and are frequently borrowed by the American stage. The Mexican child learns them naturally and without conscious effort. Many Mexican families can produce from its effects costumes and accessories for the folk dances. It is among the humble Mexican peons that folklore, folk song, and folk dances, as well as traditions and superstitions, are preserved. Wealthy Mexicans of education and culture in general are scarcely to be distinguished

from other cosmopolitans. It is from the average Mexican workers that come the lithe-figured men with their big hats, and highly colored work clothes, who step aside from their work and retell tales that have been handed down from father to son since the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards.

In some respect the Mexican might be thought of as a forgotten man in the Southwest. The Mexican has complained little to those of influence, always accepting status quo, even though that might be a lower standard for him than for any other group in his community. Mexicans have had a tendency in some of the river delta sections of Texas to crowd out the old-established Negro farm tenant and farm laborer because in some instances he is willing to accept a lower standard without grumbling. (More attention is being focused today because the Mexican situation has developed a keen interest in the good neighbor policy toward the Latin American peoples brought about because of the war crisis. Special committees are being appointed to work for better relations of the two races and a great many promises are being made. We hope some of these promises toward developing a better standard for Mexican people will be kept.

With the growing development in the Southwest, especially in industry developing, the Mexican will be needed as much after the war as he is during the war. Anything done to educate him, to make him more capable, healthy, and alert will pay dividends in regional and national welfare.

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RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SCHOOL FOR UNDERPRIVILEGED CHILDREN

Walter H. Gaumnitz

With the children of Greece, Poland, China, and other lands temporarily held in the chains of dictators, dying en masse from starvation and other elemental wants, it is a bit difficult at this time to think seriously about the underprivileged children in our own land. But there *are* underprivileged groups in these United States, and the cause of their status is not temporary. The enormous social and economic losses, both present and future, entailed in our failure to deal effectively with many of the underlying causes, are so well known that I would be carrying "coals to Newcastle" were I to elaborate the point. I wish, therefore, only to say that while the underprivileged children in our midst lack the drama of the war orphan and the "wild children" of the battle-torn areas, the fact that there are such underprivileged children in this "land of plenty" should be a very serious challenge to any group of social workers concerned with the building of a better world. Moreover, unless we effect a greater equality of opportunity for our own large groups of underprivileged children, we cannot honestly claim to have achieved a democracy, much less teach democracy to the rest of the world.

The subject is obviously a very large one. Since I cannot consider comprehensively the problems involved in the responsibility of the schools for underprivileged children, I shall attempt to direct your thought to a specific group of such children, namely, to those of the southern mountains. The social and economic conditions of rural peoples generally have long been below par as compared with urban life in general, and, in my opinion, we are not progressing toward parity. Indeed, in many respects the disparity is growing. But in rural communities, as in our big cities, there are slum areas

and marginal groups. There are the tenant farmers, the rural migratory laborers, the racial minorities—to mention only a few.

A very important underprivileged area is that typified by the southern mountains. We have heard a great deal about this section. But have we carefully analyzed the causes for the social and economic conditions obtaining there? And, more important, have we a plan of rehabilitation for this area? What responsibility does each of the social services—public education, for example—have for carrying such a plan into effect?

Let us examine this mountain area to see if we can ascertain why children are underprivileged. Careful investigations reveal that the racial stocks which originally inhabited this portion of rural America were of the best—consisting chiefly of northern Europeans. Indeed, it is well known that there are more evidences of Elizabethan England and of our pioneer life preserved in these mountains than anywhere else in this land. Climatic conditions also are reasonably favorable in this section of the United States. Originally, the people living in these mountains had a good life, similar in all respects to that pioneer life elsewhere in the Colonies and, later, in the States and territories. Only the comparatively rich bottom and plateau lands were farmed. The products of the soil were abundantly supplemented through the exploitation of forest and stream. But certain important factors soon combined to cause these areas to fall behind, both economically and socially. For the most part, the southern mountain counties form parts of the southern States which lost the war of secession, and many handicaps followed in the train of that event in our history. Since the area was somewhat inaccessible, travel in or out of these mountains was limited. In consequence, as the children married they pressed farther up the “hollows,” and tried to make a living on soil which was less and less fertile. Farming the hillsides, denuding the forests, and many other factors soon combined to make wide areas incapable of producing a livelihood. Because of the prevailing policy of leaving to the local

community responsibility for such social services as the school, the church, and even the government and the courts, it is not surprising that these communities not only became poorer and poorer, but more and more provincial. Soon, the highlander developed characteristics different from those of his cousins in the lowlands and the cities. He knew his mountains, and he preferred them. There, he had been "getting by," and he hoped to continue to do so. To him, areas, activities, and peoples outside the mountains were strange and fraught with insecurity.

What now are the problems of this underprivileged group, and what can or should the schools do about them? First, I see no solution without facing the basic problem of marginal farming lands. There seems to be no question but that a large proportion of the families inhabiting this region of the United States are trying to make a living on soil which under modern types of industrial and competitive farming is incapable of producing a living for the family or for the support of the social services needed for the good life. Such land will gradually have to be put to forests and similar types of production. This problem transcends the scope of the schools, but the schools can greatly contribute toward its solution. They must assume the responsibility for so guiding and conditioning youth that more of them can and will seek more favorable employment and other productive opportunities elsewhere; they must encourage and guide adults in studying their economic conditions and in deciding what can be done about them. They must help both groups to understand that steep hillsides, however picturesque, cannot produce incomes adequate to support an acceptable standard of living, including such social services as public education.

The second basic problem is the improvement of the life among those groups whose lands will, under favorable farming practices, support a reasonable standard of living. It is in connection with this problem that the schools must assume a major responsibility. It is a well-established fact that the schools serving underprivileged com-

munities are for the most part failing in this responsibility. This failure can be charged to many factors, not the least of which is the old and timeworn policy of leaving the support and management of the schools almost wholly to the local communities. This policy erroneously assumes that in each community there are sufficient social leadership and funds to develop a program of education suited to the needs of its inhabitants. This policy operated fairly well in a simple, pioneer society. It now operates to the great disadvantage of the children living in areas like the southern mountains.

All the States in which the southern mountains are located have in recent years recognized the necessity of providing more of the school funds from State sources. North Carolina now provides 71 per cent of the school support from State funds, and 21 per cent more from county funds. West Virginia, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina provide between 50 and 60 per cent from the State, with varying proportions coming from the counties. The remaining States (Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee) provide from 30 to 40 per cent from State sources. But despite the progress made by these States as concerns increases in State support, many schools of these States are very poorly supported when compared with those of other States. Indeed, students ranking the States educationally almost invariably place these southern States in the lowest quartile. The reason for the poor educational showing made by these States is that for the most part they are in the lowest quartile in taxpaying ability. The productive wealth is simply not there, or other factors operate which lower income production. One of the remedies widely advanced for overcoming this underlying difficulty is Federal aid for schools or similar far-reaching changes in our basic fiscal policies.

But the job of the social worker is to find ways and means of serving childhood despite the differences in the local or State resources. The persistent grip of certain handicapping policies does not excuse

social workers from doing what they can to overcome the deficiencies they find in society. They must deal with immediate problems while they work for the desired change in basic policy. Children have a way of growing up. Whatever is to be done to fit them for life cannot be allowed to wait while governmental policy is perfected. Moreover, the adequacy of the funds available or not available is by no means the sole determiner of the quality of education provided. Indeed, there is considerable doubt that adequacy of funds is the major factor. Personally, I feel that vision and leadership are relatively more important. True, it may be difficult to get such vision and leadership in a poverty-stricken, inbred provincial community; but in finding and developing such vision and leadership lies the great challenge to social agencies, both governmental and private.

I feel that one of the greatest needs of underprivileged children is educators who understand life as it is in such communities, and who can and will intimately relate the educational content and process with the problems of life as they find them. I feel that it is of the greatest importance that we find and develop teachers and school heads who either are native to, or have otherwise come to know and understand, the social and economic problems of the communities they will later serve. To do this would mean that we should devote much more effort than we have in the past to the recruitment, selection, and training of those who will man the schools of our problem areas. I recognize, of course, that to accomplish such a change in a wholesale way would also involve changes in established public policy. But progress can be made in this direction even if only here and there we can find and develop for the schools leaders who become forward-looking social engineers, rather than persons content with the status quo. It is here that private schools and private social agencies can do much. While doing what they can to advance social policy, they can find potential leadership, put it through a program of training that will work toward the desired objectives,

found and maintain centers where such leadership can be tried out and demonstrated, and then use such centers as fulcra through which to raise the general practice.

To recruit, select, and train such leadership, we will certainly need high schools and colleges accessible to the youth whose programs of training are to be rooted in the underprivileged area and devoted to its rise and to the solving of its problems. I believe that the greatest sources of hope are those institutions within these mountains which are organized on a basis of self-help, both for their own maintenance and the maintenance and training of their pupils. The provision for and the judicious use of scholarships for worthy students should, no doubt, be much more widely used. But such scholarships should not, in my opinion, displace self-help programs.

There is much to be done in providing equality of educational opportunity for such an underprivileged group as the southern highlanders. But in working for such equality it is very important that we do not mistake uniformity for equality. I have already suggested that schools must be identified with the problems peculiar to the communities served. If this is to be done, much of the content and emphasis of education must vary with the community. To be sure, the basic objectives of education—proficiency in the tools of learning, citizenship training, worthy home membership, ethical character—must continuously be sought in all communities, but the achievement of these objectives must be sought through the solution of the local problems and the use of the educative resources of the community in which the school operates.

It is obvious that education in terms of immediate community life is still largely an ideal rather than a reality. Public education is by nature conservative. Any public service must set up standards of administration and these standards so tend to fix and "freeze" both practice and content that close relationship with changing life is soon lost. It is at this point that private agencies can render impor-

tant services, not only in helping to overcome the physical shortcomings of education, but by studying the processes and content of education. The private agencies must determine wherein the schools fail in what they try to do and the ways in which they try to do it, but, more important, they must develop programs of improvement and then labor for the acceptance of such programs by the public agencies. The churches, private philanthropy, and such agencies as the Save the Children Federation have already rendered yeoman service in supplementing the work of the public schools in meeting the needs of underprivileged children in the southern mountains. Some progress has also been made in demonstrating how the schools can more intimately identify themselves with life in a local community. But much more could and should be done along these lines.

Since equal opportunity for all citizens is the very foundation of democratic faith, it is imperative that every measure possible be taken to ensure equality of educational opportunity to all children. There can be no true democracy as long as there continue to be in the United States large groups of underprivileged children, and leaders refuse to become seriously disturbed over the fact. It is the responsibility of society to equalize the physical aspects of the schools. But it is not enough to equalize per capita expenditures, to equalize teachers' salaries, to equalize school terms, to equalize school housing and equipment. True equality of educational opportunity can come only when the salaries provided procure teachers of vision and devotion to childhood, when the school terms are adjusted to the needs and services required by given communities, and when the buildings and the programs of the schools are geared to and built around the functional needs of specific groups of children.

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THE NEGRO CHILD IN THE WORLD CHAOS

Ambrose Caliver

As we prosecute the war toward a successful conclusion and bend every effort toward the common and single aim of victory, there is only one other consideration that should be allowed to attract our attention for the slightest moment and that is the welfare of our children. And it is well that we give consideration to this important subject, for it is mainly for them—their present protection and their future well-being—that the war is being fought.

While it is with the future well-being of Negro children that this paper is particularly concerned, it is recognized that it is as impossible to separate the future good of one group of children from that of all children as it is to separate the future peace of one nation from that of all other nations. Attention, therefore, is called to the problems of Negro children, not because they are different in kind from the problems of other children, but because of their seriousness and the difficulties of their solution. The problems of the Negro child are relatively more serious than those of children of the majority group because of the historical background out of which the problems grew and the intensified effect which they are having on the Negro child. They are more difficult of solution because of the caste society in which Negroes are born and of the factor of race which always must be added to the regular difficulties encountered in the solution of problems of other children. In other words, because of the underprivileged condition of Negroes, the needs of their children are greater both in peacetime and in wartime. And these needs increase in number, variety, and importance in proportion to our adherence to the democratic principles and objectives for which the war is being fought and our determination to apply them in lifting Negroes out of the status of second-class citizenship.

The needs of Negro children, like those of other children, are of five general kinds: physical, emotional, intellectual, social, and spiritual; and while they have not changed in wartime, many of

the agencies supplying the needs have been more or less affected by the war. Important among these agencies are: the home, the school, the community, and the church. In order, therefore, to understand the special needs of Negro children and their problems we must study the facilities which these agencies have provided or failed to provide for their growth and development. The facilities these agencies offered Negro children in the past very definitely conditioned their needs and colored their problems; and what they offer in the future will determine the extent to which they will be prepared to play their full role as adults in the reconstruction of our social order. These four agencies, therefore, are trustees of the greatest investment of ours or any generation—the children—and our interest in them should be mainly in how they help children to live, to grow, to think, to love, to aspire, and to be well and happy.

Hence, our central purpose here is to call attention to the need of helping Negro children become and remain adjusted and happy in a situation that is unwholesome and not conducive to the fulfillment of their needs. At the same time we need to help them to appreciate the ever changing nature of this situation for the better, and to develop a positive and optimistic outlook and dynamic purpose in relating themselves to this orderly social evolution.

Limited space permits only of a brief treatment of two of the agencies named—the home and the school.

The Negro Home

The American home is the nation's first line of defense in wartime, and the first transmitter of our culture in peacetime. It is truly the basis of our civilization. It is here that the child's first needs are supplied and he learns his first lessons about living, growing, thinking, working, loving, and aspiring. It is here the foundation is laid that will largely determine his well-being and happiness.

The number of Negro homes which provide the necessary conditions for such development is gradually increasing. Their improved economic status and their educational advancement have made pos-

sible an improvement of the homes of thousands of their numbers. However, the masses of the thirteen million Negroes are still ill-housed, ill-clothed, and ill-fed. Their homes are substandard and in consequence their children are subnormal.

Houses in which Negroes live. In describing the physical surrounding of the homes of a majority of Negroes it is perhaps sufficient to say that both in urban and rural areas they are characterized by conditions similar to those found in slums. As a rule, the houses are dilapidated firetraps, lacking in modern conveniences, and are overcrowded. Often there are no paved streets and lights, and where there are they are frequently neglected; sanitary and other public services are below par. While the rents in these localities are low, they are relatively higher in proportion to the income of the Negro occupants than the rents paid by white persons with similar income. Conditions over which they have no control often require Negroes of a higher status to remain in these sections; for when they attempt to improve their conditions they are prevented from doing so because of restrictive clauses and covenants on the part of white owners and real-estate dealers.

The war housing program has provided decent living quarters for hundreds of Negro families, but a beginning has not yet been made in solving this problem.

While houses are important, they do not make homes. As important, therefore, as are the houses in which Negroes live, we are more concerned with the family unit.

The Negro family. The Negro family unit has always been in a precarious condition since the beginning of slavery. This institution, in a majority of cases, resulted in a deliberate disorganization of the Negro family which consequently became an easy prey to those influences of war that always have a deleterious effect, even on the normal family. Keeping the family ties intact is important for a group that experiences many disadvantages not experienced by other groups. This is especially so in times of crises; but because of the Negro's background and his low educational status, his fam-

ily is particularly vulnerable to the unstabilizing effects of broken homes, divorces, laxity in sex relations, and illegitimacy. Frequently mothers are working away from home; fathers and older brothers are in the armed services; and older sisters are in war industries or some other activity; all this adds up to: lack of supervision, lack of necessary discipline, lack of proper care of younger children, and an increasing number of "door-key children."

Although, in general, the war has improved certain conditions in the Negro family, child labor is still a serious problem. There are many cases where certain conditions indicated above have placed too heavy a burden on the very young child in caring for younger children and sick persons, or performing other tasks in the home which taxes their physical strength and nervous energy. Often there is little time for play or study, and when there is, in all too many cases, because of the crowded condition of the home or the irregular schedules of work and sleep, the home does not provide opportunity to do so. Moreover, in spite of the apparently improved economic status of Negro families, there are too many that lack adequate heat and proper diet for children, such as milk, cheese, butter, vegetables, and fruit. Less variety of food at higher prices (both in money and point value) requires a higher income and a greater amount of intelligence and self-discipline in order to assure a proper diet than the average Negro family possesses.

These family deficiencies, in addition to the physical deficiencies of the home mentioned above, bring about an unwholesome atmosphere which has a particularly bad influence on the growing child.

Schools for Negroes

Great progress has been made in the education of Negroes during the past quarter of a century. This progress is shown in many ways, but particularly in number and quality of schools, number and preparation of teachers, and in the tremendous increase in enrollment. Evidences of educational progress of Negroes are indicated also by the decrease in illiteracy and the general improvement in

their social and economic status. Their educational progress is all the more impressive when it is remembered that during slavery all the southern States and some of the northern States had laws forbidding the instruction of slaves and freedmen, and that after emancipation educational provisions for Negroes were greatly delayed. In spite of the progress that has been made there is still much that needs to be done before there is equality of educational opportunity for this minority group.

There are many deficiencies in the education of this group which also exist, although to a far less degree, in the education of the majority group. However, such deficiencies are particularly distressing to Negroes, because of their social, cultural, and economic backgrounds and of the educational distance they had to travel.

Their schools in general are characterized by inaccessibility, bad housing, lack of facilities, short terms, overcrowded classes, limited equipment and program, inadequate staffs which are poorly prepared and underpaid, lack of health services and health instruction, and lack of professional spirit and outlook. Certain services which are beginning to be introduced into schools for the majority group are almost entirely lacking in Negro schools, such as child-guidance clinics and adult-education programs. Where any of these items of educational services are provided for Negroes they are greatly inferior to those for white persons. This inferiority of service has far-reaching effects in terms of child development, some of which are listed below after the indicated deficiency:

1. Inaccessibility of schools—a large proportion of young children in rural areas live excessive distances from schools, resulting in poor attendance.
2. Bad housing and lack of facilities—discomfort, poor posture, eye strain, bad health habits, disease, and lack of appreciation of beauty and of wholesome surroundings.
3. Short terms—less exposure to purposeful educational experiences during the most plastic years of the child's life.
4. Overcrowded classes—lack of personal attention to individual needs.

5. Limited equipment and program—limited educative experiences, narrow concepts, and inadequate sense of values, particularly with respect to one's own personality, work, play, and human relations.

6. Inadequate, poorly prepared, and underpaid staff—irritable and overworked teachers, feeling a sense of unfairness and discrimination, who often develop compensatory behavior toward children resulting in unfair, authoritarian attitudes and a denial of the dignity and sacredness of personality.

7. Inadequate health services and health instruction—lack of doctors, nurses, clinics, and medical supplies resulting in lack of health habits, and high morbidity and mortality rates.

8. Lack of professional spirit and outlook—denial of proper respect to principals and teachers from superintendents and supervisors, and dictatorial methods on part of principals and teachers resulting in fear, suspicion, indifference, and lack of interest.

9. Absence of child-guidance clinics—lack of understanding of child nature and of individual needs, and lack of remedial measures and guidance.

10. Absence of adult-education programs—lack of understanding of parents' problems and lack of effort to improve the culture into which the child goes and better to relate the schoolwork to that culture.

A little reflection will indicate the special relation of each of these items to and their implications for Negro children, especially when viewed in terms of the Negro's minority group status. One example with respect to the school's program will perhaps help to make this clear. A majority of the textbooks which Negro children use have very little about Negroes of a commendatory nature and nothing about their contributions to the discovery and exploration of the continent; little about their participation in the development of American culture and their contributions to the culture of other nations throughout the world; and there are few pictures of Negroes except those that are derogatory. The Negro teachers have known little more about their race than the children because it was only recently that such material has been included in their college courses and even now, except in a few instances, the number of such courses is limited and not required. Where these teachers

have had information about the history of their race and have been interested in imparting it to the children, it has not always been easy to do so because of the rigidity of the program. Great impetus has been given to a study of this subject, however, during the present war emergency, and it is believed that because of the current discussions of the relation of minority groups to the war and the peace such material will be more widely and systematically used in Negro schools as well as in white schools.

In view of the background of Negroes and their past home condition and school facilities, it is absolutely essential that their children be infused with a proper and wholesome self-esteem, through such study as indicated above, if they are to develop normal personalities and play their part as world citizens of the future.

The war must be won, and teachers like every one else must do whatever is necessary to contribute to that victory. It is not inappropriate, however, to ask ourselves respecting each project undertaken, "Has it been planned effectively and organized properly in order to make its execution contribute the most to the war effort and at the same time detract the least from the educative program? Is the greatest amount of educational value being derived from the project itself as a supplement to the regular educational processes?" It has been demonstrated that the fundamental educational processes can be mastered in much less time than has been devoted to them in the past. Perhaps the extra time required for war activities will force those who have been reluctant to adopt the quicker procedures in achieving the regular objectives to do so now. There is one thing certain, Negro children should not continue to be handicapped through inferior achievement as a result of educational deficiencies.

The extent of such handicaps is indicated by the rejection statistics of the Selective Service System. For example, Negroes represented 11 per cent of the first million draftees, but they represented 60 per cent of those rejected on account of a lack of functional literacy. After changing the system of examining, their rate of rejection for this cause is still 5 to 6 times greater than that of white

selectees. Recently a study was made in six States of the ratios of rejection rates between Negro and white draftees. These rates were compared with the ratios between Negro and white current expense per pupil in average daily attendance in the same six States. An almost perfect correlation was found to exist between the two ratios in each of the States. That is to say, where the current expense per Negro pupil was low in comparison with the expense per white pupil the percentage of rejections of Negro draftees was high in comparison with that of white draftees. This finding, together with the other educational deficiencies pointed out, has a significant lesson for all who are willing to read it with reference to the needs of Negro children and the facilities provided to meet those needs.

The school deficiencies to which Negro children are subjected take their daily toll in a thousand different ways, among them: excessive number who are overage, retardation, poor attendance, lack of reading readiness and intellectual curiosity, lack of sustained interest, lowered ambition, inferior achievement, failure, and elimination. Add to these the deficiencies of the Negro home, plus those of the community and church—not discussed here—and we can begin to appreciate some of the personality defects of an excessive number of Negro children, such as: lack of self-direction, "sense of belonging," feeling of frustration, warped personalities, etc.

The problems here indicated are accentuated greatly by the poverty and occupational difficulties of Negroes and by other discriminations which they constantly undergo. To the extent that we continue to be indifferent and complacent about them we imperil the war effort and weaken the possibilities of a lasting peace.

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THE MOUNTAIN WORK OF THE SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION

Frank C. Foster

"To assist in the relief and care of the health, education and social welfare, primarily, of the children of the United States and other lands." In seeking to follow this statement of purpose, the Save the Children Federation has sought "to assist" in those areas where need is most conspicuous and where the resources and facilities of the organization qualified the agency to serve. The following observations are based on the nature of the need, character of service, and possible developments.

Southern mountain needs have been so widely publicized that little need be said for the opening of S.C.F. services in the region of "many children—few dollars," as a caption on Works's and Lesser's study of *Rural America Today*¹ describes it. As they point out (p. 17):

In the Southeast farmers must care for 13.43 percent of the nation's children on 2.21 percent of the national income. In contrast, the non-farming population of the Northeast, with only twice as many children, has 42 percent of the national income.

The President's Report on Economic Conditions of the South by his National Emergency Council describes this burden of support as follows (p. 17):

Its excess of birth over deaths is 100 per thousand as compared with the national average of 7 per thousand . . . of the 108,600,000 native born persons in the country in 1930, 28,700,000 were born in the Southeast, all but 4,600,000 in rural districts. These rural districts have exported one-fourth of their natural increase in sons and daughters. . . . Of these southerners born in rural areas, only 17,500,000 live in the locality where they were born, and 3,800,000 have left the South entirely. This migration has taken

¹ Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942.

from the South many of its ablest people. Nearly half of the eminent scientists born in the South are now living elsewhere.

The relation of the welfare of the children of these areas to the progress of the country as a whole led the President of the United States to introduce the Report to the President on the Economic Conditions of the South with the much discussed statement:

It is my conviction that the South presents right now the Nation's No. 1 economic problem—the Nation's problem, not merely the South. For we have an economic unbalance in the Nation as a whole, due to this very condition of the South.

Differences within the States of the South make this need for help even more clear. The S.C.F. has been helping children in Wise County, Va., bordering on Kentucky. This county has the largest per capita population of the State, 121.8 per square mile as compared with 40.6 for the State as a whole, according to a report released from Virginia Polytechnic Institute in 1933.² There are no large industries to provide income, and the farms are small (next to the smallest of all the 100 counties) and third from the bottom in income from small farms. (Only Dickens and Buchanan, both S.C.F.-served counties, have more farms with incomes of less than \$1,000 a year.)

It is the consequence of this inequality in the distribution of burden for children and the resources to care for them that has made it necessary to bring help to schools. The more isolated the schools, the poorer is the equipment, the less experienced are the teachers, and less blessed is the community with resources to supplement the work of the schools.

While the Government agencies have done much to relieve conditions, there is still need for "free enterprise" in the form of such an organization as the S.C.F. in meeting gaps in the service to children. Children are still without adequate protection in clothes and diet,

²Dr. Garnett is bringing the study up to date and it will be published soon.

as reports from superintendents and welfare workers indicate. Rev. Gentry, whose whole life has been spent in that area, makes this observation on war employment in such a favored State as North Carolina:

The able bodied are away in the armed forces or in war industries. (Three times as many volunteers for the army and navy came from the mountains than from other places, the government reports.) This leaves the children and those too old to bear the rigors of industrial employment behind. The cost of goods has increased more rapidly than the prices of farm products. There are no war industries. The additional mine activities in such counties as Mitchell and Yancy affect a few (300) with wages at \$2.40 a day without the use of overtime work or pay. There are no organizations concerned with working conditions active. The passing of the W.P.A. projects leaves those who looked to it for relief.

State officials tend to blame these counties for negligent political leadership; county leaders point out the difficulties faced by Republican counties in the "Solid South." These mountain counties are the only remaining areas in the South offering opposition to the Democratic-controlled State government. The result is quite disrupting when it comes to sharing in the State appropriations.

There would be no point in bringing this into the analysis if it were not for the fact that children suffer. State officials may argue that the counties could but the fact remains that they do not, and civic-minded citizens are not willing to see the children penalized while the parties struggle for adjustment of States' resources. One illustration is found in State investment in school buildings. Those in Ashe County average \$5,764 each, with 40 of the 65 one-teacher schools; where the average for the State is \$26,929 per school, \$17,039 for counties. These counties suffer in the training of teachers. Of the 100 counties, the following ones are ranked: Allegheny 99, Ashe 97, Cherokee 76, Avery 86, Madison 83, Transylvania 81, Yancy 80.

The problem within the schoolroom is just as complex, and is

not as easily reported in statistical figures. Some counties may have health service, others none. All have welfare officers, but their services vary with resources. One of the services of the S.C.F. has been that of assisting in the study of local needs, then exploring ways of meeting them. The reports on clothes, desks, food, and books is evidence of the type of physical needs which the organization has met. Requests for more of these are evidence of needs that persist. As the tightening of control over manpower and increased bidding for educated people continue, rural schools suffer more than ever from loss of teachers capable of understanding and serving the needs of children. An East Tennessee worker reported one county with 88 teachers where 50 have already indicated intention to change. The services of the S.C.F. can be understood better by a review of educational and welfare developments within the county. Public education as we know it is largely the product of the last fifty years. During this time most of the effort has been on enrollment and in providing enough teachers to take care of the greatly expanding system. The effort to vitalize and make teaching socially significant is the concern of the present decade. In Virginia, one of the leaders, the "Tentative Course of Study for Elementary Schools" (1934), has had to win the approval of superintendents, teachers colleges, and teachers in order to reach the pupil. It is little wonder that in many an isolated school one finds little of the new spirit aimed, as the course says, "to give enriched and purposeful experiences in the classroom . . . adapted to their own needs as the purpose of the revised curriculum."

Any one who has visited the counties served by the S.C.F. has heard accounts of early church schools, built at great sacrifice and offering devoted service under trying conditions. Their foundations made the public system possible. At the same time the continuation of denominational rivalries offered a further inducement for the people to have a school system that would bring about a united community.

When private philanthropy withdrew from the field of elementary and then secondary education, there were still needs to be met. The flexibility of the program of the S.C.F. in serving the developing public system, helping schools to keep pupils in school by supplementing services with clothes, desks, food, books, added to the three R's a concern for the child.

From the initial interest in "Keep the Child in School" grew the concern for what went on within the school and at home. The staff of S.C.F. were able to call attention to public services available to the schools, WPA, surplus commodities, 4-H clubs, and other organizations interested in serving the youth. By setting of sponsored schools definitely to show what improvement can be made through providing clothes, books, food, or other help, the scope of teacher interest was extended, and the school more intimately identified with the home and community. In Tennessee where the Blue Ribbon campaign to have all children receive health services has been sponsored by the P.T.A., S.C.F. has encouraged its sponsored schools to join this worthy activity. Vacation schools have brought religious resources together so that several churches have cooperated in supporting one inclusive school for creative education and religious instruction.

The pattern of S.C.F. county organization, bringing together representatives of various agencies and public-spirited citizens, continues the trend toward integrating community activities on behalf of the child. The approach of the S.C.F. has often been on the initiative of the local community. In Avery County, for example, the work was begun when the county principals and superintendent heard of the meeting in Boone, and drove there to secure S.C.F. help. The chapter in Transylvania was started when a member of the staff of the welfare office saw an account in the paper, wrote for information, and was elected chairman of the local chapter.

At the annual meeting of the North Carolina Educational Association a teacher well known for her creative leadership heard a

description of what S.C.F. is doing. "That is just what we need," she said, and wanted a chapter organized before the close of school. When that seemed impossible, she planned for it in the fall. At Chapel Hill the idea of similar community planning grows out of Dr. Odum's office. Now the S.C.F. may not be it, but the approach of community services is in line with the type of planning and provision for services which he is stimulating by his regional conceptions.

This review of the S.C.F. has been presented to bring out the contrast between the flexible concern for services needed, the use of agencies with fixed and assigned responsibilities, and the readiness to extend the area of cooperation to any organization worthy of help that can be granted to "save the children." Where the churches have tended to work through fixed settlements, and centers, there have been many illustrations of an inability to make the transition from private to public support with grace.

So far most of the attention has been directed to the physical welfare of the child. There is now a trend toward stimulating "education and social welfare" with concern for what goes on within the school. What this means in terms of the sponsored school needs closer study for a fair evaluation, but there is evidence that the teachers are stimulated to enrich their teaching with study of human well-being as well as the mechanical 3 R's.

The three major objectives of the S.C.F. as stated by the founder, Dr. Voris, are (1) to study the needs of children and make them known; (2) to establish social-service projects; and (3) to correlate church, educational, social, and civic agency movements or forces. The last offers one of the promising opportunities before the organization. To illustrate from an experience in proposing a workshop for teachers in sponsored schools: The idea was put forth in the way of a query, Would it be possible? Would you be interested? The response from superintendents and teachers colleges was so hearty that the S.C.F. was caught in the embarrassing position of

needing to carry it through and seek some aid for teachers to make the expectations of superintendents and colleges materialize. The proposal was simply one of coordination. It may yet be able to bring other foundations into the picture so that funds left for such good work will be utilized at one of the most critical points in our present upheaval—the rural school. As the plans for the workshop were discussed, material from the forestry division, farm demonstration agents (both are assured), recreation service of the Conference of Mountain Workers in which S.C.F. cooperates will be brought into the program. Many of the families live off the forest products. Yet little is done in the schools to help the children understand the world in which they live.

In fulfilling the objectives there are more agencies that may be brought into the service of the children. Primary research in the interests of children is being conducted at universities and other centers. The Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, the Specialist in Rural Education of the United States Office of Education, the National Education Association, and the Progressive Education Association have services available to these needy areas. In religion, organizations such as the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen are eager to extend their membership to reach the ministers of the Holiness and Church of God and such churches as are serving the spiritual interests of many of these mountain areas. They have proposed a "Seminary in the Cornfield" to help ministers with the rural problem.

Planners are very much aware of these areas. They have proposals and programs. It is probable that the S.C.F. may make this a part of its "study" and "correlation" and "social service."

As the S.C.F. faces these changes and the multiplicity of organizations dealing with related problems more attention will need to be given to defining its precise service. It will be all too easy to be absorbed in activities without finding the true direction. Those who have observed the problems which the Conference of Mountain

Workers faces and the way it has been handicapped by lack of time and resources for research trust that the S.C.F. may not suffer the same restrictions. State systems are giving more time each year to studying trends and demands. Unless the programs and services can be appraised to meet the changing demands the S.C.F. may be just another organization trying to survive. If its publicity can be a genuine interpretation of the child-saving needs and activities, its administration directed to realizing its goals, and the staff continue to keep their services within the places where needs are still unmet, it will maintain the vitality which has caused it to grow as it has thus far.

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SOME PROSPECTS FOR CHILD WELFARE IN THE UNITED STATES

Howard W. Hopkirk

Status of Children in the United States in Wartime

War has shortened the span of dependency until the sixteen-year-old becomes as much a man or woman as the eighteen-year-old used to be. Employment, with the wages, privileges, and sometimes the responsibilities of an adult, is in some contrast to the prewar pattern whereby a youth had alternative but less mature prospects. In those days, unless he remained a student to reach high-school graduation at about eighteen years, he had little choice beyond employment in industry or business as an unskilled beginner, poorly paid and often eligible only for dead-end tasks such as the delivery of telegrams. But now we may find him earning enough to make him a taxpayer and carrying the responsibilities of a seasoned worker. Should he be one of those who does remain in high school he probably expects upon graduation a quick shift to some wartime occupation. His high-school commencement exercises may include the bestowal of his diploma *in absentia*, he being already enrolled in the armed forces.

The junior-high-school student may have become an afterschool messenger or a minder of young children. Even twelve-year-olds have slipped into such situations often enough to be noticed. Boys and girls are falsifying their ages in order to obtain working papers, their parents sometimes encouraging such deception. It becomes difficult, indeed, to tell at what age one ceases to be a child. The traditional age barriers set up by legislatures, employers, labor unions, and parents are being lowered or winked at. Where a crop is to be gathered, bowling alleys to be served, or where a shop needs an errand boy there may be strong pressures impelling a very young

child to seek employment, the family's necessity of meeting the cost of a decent living often being the strongest of these pressures.

Somewhat independent of such economic factors are other war-time forces that help to reverse the prewar tendency to prolong infancy. News stories in the year 1943 have reported the readiness of some legislators to authorize voting at the age of 18 by men in the armed forces. In New York City within one week two girls under 16 were identified as the wives of service men, one probably being a widow at the age of 14. Even though their marriages were invalid and the girls placed under the care of a children's protective society, their experiences represent a tendency to lower the age for serious courtship and bring it nearer the age of puberty. This is a good time to review the literature on child marriages, and notably the two books by Richmond and Hall.¹ Parents, social workers, teachers, and pastors are becoming aware that a 14- or 15-year-old girl may need only a sophisticated garb in order to assure a soldier or sailor that she is a woman.

Babies, more plentiful than ever before in the United States, may be as affected as adolescents, by the war. Even before the drafting of fathers there was a good chance of having the mother drawn into some form of employment outside the home. Care in a nursery or in the home of a relative or a foster parent by the day may be in lieu of the normal life with his own mother. For children with neurotic mothers this experience may be in the interest of their development, but for most of them it means that war has subtracted an invaluable and irreplaceable experience, the uninterrupted mothering which may well fill the first years of life. Neither the baby nor the mother receives an award for this sacrifice. And conscientious mothers are in danger of rationalizing about the advantages of a nursery or even of the care which a less distraught foster mother may supply. She seldom realizes that the limited qualifications of nursery workers

¹ Mary E. Richmond and Fred S. Hall, *Marriage and the State* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1929) and *Child Marriages* (1925).

and other substitute parents are well known to social workers and educators and that by and large they are no more competent than mothers themselves.

The lot of unmarried mothers and their children may be more severe because of the wartime cost of living and the consequent difficulties of mothers arranging to keep their babies. The economic eddies may, however, make it easier for the woman in such a plight to obtain employment and thus finance the temporary care of her child while she works out a continuing plan. It will be interesting to observe whether our country will be more considerate of unmarried mothers and their children when peacetime conditions again prevail. The laws of inheritance have underscored society's disapproval of childbearing without marriage, and there is a distinct relationship between such statutes and those pertaining to adoptions. Adoptions usually involve children born out of wedlock, and whatever security such a child attains through adoption. If he remains of illegitimate parentage he cannot now enjoy in the United States that acceptance by society or that assurance of support which have long been taken for granted in Europe, notably in the Scandinavian countries.

The child of Negro ancestry may have the most respectable of circumstances surrounding his birth, but his brown skin leaves him in the United States with social and economic prospects almost as uncertain as are those of a white child who happens to be born out of wedlock. His race in many communities will deprive the Negro child of the privilege of being born in a hospital, of attending certain schools or churches, of traveling in certain conveyances, and of living in a respectable home. His father may be barred from a labor union and his mother may find herself restricted to the earning of a domestic servant; factors that doubtless increase the incidence of child malnutrition, illiteracy, neglect, and delinquency. But with Negroes admitted to the company of the Army Air Corps and admitted, however slowly, to the ranks of machine operators in factories, the vestiges of their peonage may disappear more rapidly

than in peacetime when color of skin was often the determining basis for selection of manpower.

Some millions of the country's children may be added to those previously mentioned, those who have not known acute hunger, who are accepted in their communities and their families, not old enough to have become too aware of their stature nor young enough to have felt so keenly as a baby does the day-by-day separation from parents. These are the children in elementary schools, who are quite aware of the war, and who need careful, though very different, provisions for their welfare.

The war to date has found many of them less supervised than ever before. A favored group of such children, gradually increasing in size, is, however, finding more supervision in group activities, after school and during vacation periods.

It is well to recognize the advantages as well as the disadvantages of a less supervised life. Children thrown on their own will learn quicker, through making far more decisions than when their parents were more accessible. There are certain distinctly wartime disciplines, like that reflected in saving for war bond purchases. Collection of scrap and the rationing of food and clothing have left valuable impressions on children otherwise growing up in a too thriftless society. Clubs and classes in crafts and first aid are great assets.

The less pleasant view is of children running loose and into trouble. They are learning quickly but the wrong lessons. Deeds of violence, wayward conduct that flouts authority, bad companions, and excessive idleness are realities not to be ignored. Gangs can grow, as the children grow. Where schools are darkened after classes are dismissed the community often has decided, unwittingly enough, to encourage the street gang instead of the mixture of recreation and education which every neighborhood could establish in the only neighborhood institution common throughout the United States—the public school.

Hardly a child can be found who does not know some one in the

armed forces. As our boys and girls join those who mourn for the men killed in battle they are learning some of the greatest of moral and religious truths. The neighbor's son lost in action has given something beyond measuring, and our people had come to measure too many of life's values in terms of dollars or privileges. As children learn thrift in small things so they may learn a thrift which values life itself, which considers the consequences of death, even for the young, but is not miserly when life is forfeited at the request of our country or when it is freely given to save the lives of others.

As Children Face Situations Ahead

War is teaching the world that children, and even adults, are more adaptable and more resilient than we have thought they could be. It is true in China and Europe, and in the United States. Therefore, it is only logical to presume that whatever problems lie ahead they will be met practically. The social and ethical levels on which solutions will be reached may be higher or lower than those on which the present generation of adults is operating.

It is obvious that youths will return to school in large numbers as soon as peace permits. But just how attractive our schools will seem to the young is not too apparent. Marriage at earlier ages than has been customary may reduce substantially the number who might be expected to enroll in colleges and even in high schools. He who has tasted some economic independence as a worker may be unwilling to return to that dependence upon his family which characterizes most students.

If the United States is ever to become seriously interested in adult education, the postwar era may be the time for just such growth. Returning soldiers and young married couples will hardly want to be treated as children. Even though still in their teens, many of them through strenuous experience will have become the peers of their elders. If education especially for adults is offered, at times and places which are practical, there may be a sincere acceptance of it

by adolescents and by older adults. Neighborhood school facilities utilized for the defense effort have been put to uses never before considered. It would be only natural for the young to ask that in these same schools there be a diversified program of postwar education that will help them meet their new problems as parents, workers, and citizens. As our people pay the high taxes, which even the humblest will be assessed, we can expect them to demand more careful accounting from the Government and a more certain guarantee of essential services needed by them and their children.

It may even be that our people will move into a more vital and less passive interest in the arts. An appetite for artistic expression may be stimulated by the deprivations of war, and by the leadership both of talented refugees and of our own increasingly mature artists. The Vienna of this century may be on the shores of one of the Great Lakes, and our youth may find in Cleveland or Detroit the world's greatest resources for those who are searching for beauty and truth. Technical and scientific developments of unprecedented proportions seem even more assured.

Homes will be built along patterns we cannot foresee. The greater independence of mothers and all women will have its impact upon children of all ages. The tradition for co-education in the United States and the acceptance by so many young people of the responsibilities of parenthood are healthy and powerful assets in the development of a sound moral fabric for our society. These are offsets to the irresponsible behavior, with consequent disruption of homes, which accompanies and follows war.

Appropriations for prenatal, maternal, and infant care will receive more attention from the electorate. Should the present shortage of physicians, nurses, and public-health workers be accompanied by severe epidemics and a consequent rise in the rates of infant morbidity and mortality, we may for the first time have an indignant public requiring basic services for children which have been plentiful only in our more favored communities.

The child of school age may find the neighborhood as concerned

about his protection from unwholesome moral and physical hazards as it has been in accounting for his protection from air raids. Our children of school and preschool ages need to have a security which for many has never been realized. They should be *wanted* by their parents and the neighborhood and the entire community. The confusion caused by wartime scarcity of housing and the overcrowding of schools and recreation facilities have deprived many to the extent that they need more acceptance than if there had been no war. It is like the convalescent child who has an increased need for his cod liver oil.

Child Welfare Horizons

This country has never lost its dream of any boy having a chance to become its president. It is an ideal which needs clearer definition and it is probable that the year 1950 will find us much more practical both in its definition and realization. The birthright that only a third or a half have enjoyed may be extended to all. Possibly a girl or a Negro child can then think of the presidency as a possibility.

Every soldier, sailor, marine, and coastguard has his ration provided and it is a ration that is adequate. He is equally well clothed and he carries into action his first-aid kit which reduces greatly his danger of death from wounds. These standards for our men are higher than in World War I.

A better standard of living for every child is only a logical outgrowth of present trends. Child feeding, at home and at school, should not be affected by the illness or unemployment of a parent. At the beginning of this century we had little concern for a balanced diet and our resources for producing food were much less than now. American pride may be considered only a thin veneer unless rickets become as rare as yellow fever.

The surplus of physicians and nurses after the war will be more than needed if the birth and development of each child are to have those safeguards that middle-class families have taken for granted.

Services and facilities will require an organization which we are only beginning to accept throughout the country.

The religious, educational, and recreational nourishment of our children will indeed tax our resources for social planning. We are capable of enlisting our boys and girls in activities more democratic than those through which Axis countries have indoctrinated their youth. But again, we have only begun to meet this need. The respect for personality which will come from youth's own participation in planning is essential. A parity of individuals, sexes, and races with a minimum of regimentation is not easy to achieve.

A sincere respect for each child will be reflected in a strengthening of many services for the handicapped. Our children's courts, clinics, schools for the delinquent, the feeble-minded and physically handicapped, foster care in institutions and family homes, children's protective services and facilities for day care, all will attract more competent personnel and will be more adequately financed—if the United States really cares for its children.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Child Psychology, by CHARLES E. SKINNER and PHILIP L. HARRIMAN (eds.). New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941, ix + 522 pages.

This latest text on child psychology is an excellent collaborative effort unmarred by the usual duplication of subject matter found in similar works. The viewpoint is genetic, stressing the development of an integrated growing personality in the child. In this regard it should be valuable to those preparing for positions in primary and elementary education.

Physical, motor, dynamic, language, emotional, mental, intellectual, social, moral, religious, aesthetic, and play aspects of wholesome personality development are traced by experts in each field. Particularly interesting is the chapter on aesthetic experience of childhood by Gladys Risen.

The appendix contains an outline prepared by Raleigh Drake. This feature of the text should make the book a teachable one.

Gullah, by MASON CRUM. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University, 1940, xv + 351 pages, \$3.50.

Gullah is a study of the Carolina coastal life, with the Negro as the chief character. In particular, its interest centers chiefly on the three islands on the Carolina coast. The book treats of various phases of the life in this section, particularly before the Civil War and during the time of the later conflict and adjustment. Much valuable material is added to our understanding of this phase of our history by this study.

The criticisms grow out of the organization and presentation of the materials rather than the types of materials presented. The author has gathered a vast array of data which are highly valuable and very interesting but has failed to organize them around a central problem or theme, so that the book lacks structure and organization. A concluding chapter with some interpretation of the materials would have strengthened the book.

The point of view of the author is quite southern. He has stressed too much, perhaps, the climate, the beauty of the country, and the influence of "the odor of bay blossoms and sweet myrtle." His point of view that the Negro problem must be solved by the Negroes and whites of the sec-

tion rather than by outside interference is well taken. The book is very interesting and worth the time spent in reading it for any one who is interested in race relations.

Teacher-Pupil Relationships, by BERNICE BAXTER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941, 166 pages.

The observation technique has been used in this book as a basis for analyzing the quality of effective teaching. What many teachers said and did in the classroom situation and what their pupils said and did have been observed, recorded, and finally classified under descriptions differentiating the good teacher from the poor teacher. Actual samples of teacher-pupil relationships observed in actual learning situations are listed under each descriptive phrase as illustrative of positive and negative methods.

The material should be helpful (1) to teachers in evaluating themselves and their teaching methods; (2) to supervisors in evaluating teachers; (3) to student teachers in developing the skill of observing pupil activity in the classroom as a check on the effectiveness of their teaching.

A major contribution of the book is the recognition of teacher-pupil relationships as the heart of the educative process.

What Our Schools Are Teaching, by HERBERT B. BRUNER and others. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941, 225 pages.

When a careful analysis is made of 1,175 selected courses of study, and 85,000 other courses of study are used as a field of verification; when five authors spend five years, aided by the services of numerous research and clerical assistants, in making an analysis, the results deserve the careful attention of thoughtful educators everywhere, and the book becomes a "must" on the special reading lists of curriculum and methods courses in teacher-training institutions.

The special reference of the book is to the fields of science, social studies, and industrial arts. If only by parallel thinking or analogy, the techniques and conclusions ought to be of general interest. For those who wish to make intensive study of the data presented, many tables and charts and much of statistics are furnished. For those who wish to read as they run and will accept the conclusions without verification, those conclusions are

furnished neatly at the end of each section. Here, then, is a study thoroughly competent within its announced limits. Its chief weakness is its lack of an index.

The Creative Unconscious: Studies in the Psychoanalysis of Art, by
HANNS SACHS. Cambridge: Sci-Art Publishers, 1942, 240 pages.

Dr. Sachs, editor of *American Imago*, and professor at Harvard Medical School, explores the fundamental problems of aesthetics in this volume from the viewpoint of the Freudian psychology. The first part treats of the creative act starting from daydreams as the most common form of fantasy. The second part tries to illustrate the theory in three ways: one chapter showing how a genius picks up a timeworn piece of material and transforms it into a masterpiece; the second, how an inhibition, caused by unconscious conflicts, can influence the course of civilization. The third part is concerned with the central problem of aesthetics: beauty. While this book will be of interest to all artists and teachers of aesthetics, it will be of particular interest to nursery-school and elementary-school teachers, who already are aware that the child's productions are a means to understanding his inner motivations, and to therapists who are using the child's production in art, writing, and the drama as a technique of therapy.

Social Work; An Analysis of a Social Institution, by HELEN LELAND
WITMER. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1942, 539 pages.

A comprehensive discussion of the entire field of social work dealing with three major topics: (1) the nature of the social work institution and the function it serves; (2) what circumstances and needs called it into existence and how its present basic principles were arrived at; (3) how its chief function is discharged in the various fields in which it now mainly operates. This volume is a source book that should prove invaluable to teachers and students of social work.

